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ROGER CASEMENT ON SCREEN: THE BACKGROUND STORY ON AN HISTORICAL FILM OPPORTUNITY, 1915–1916

Cooper C. Graham and Ron van Dopperen

On 4 August 1916, the day after Roger Casement was executed, the Hearst International Film Pictorial Newsreel released moving pictures of Sir Roger at his writing desk. Although Hearst claimed that the films were shot in Belgium, they had been shot in Germany the year before. The authors have found the original film at the Library of Congress in the John E. Allen collection. A copy of the film has also surfaced in a British documentary series on World War I, from where it was posted on YouTube. But there was no information on how the film was shot in 1915 or the story behind it. The authors have also searched the provenance of the film. The story involves two Americans, Franz Hugo Krebs, journalist, and Albert K. Dawson, cinematographer, in the sad episode of Casement in Germany prior to the Easter rising of 1916 and his trial in London. Casement had been trying to enlist the Germans' support in a general rising against England and the raising of an Irish Brigade. He had quickly found out that the Germans were simply using him for propaganda purposes. Nevertheless, he decided to assist Krebs and Dawson in their use of photography for his own propaganda aims. Aside from its undisputed propaganda value, the photo and film session became an important document of Casement's life. Today, Casement receives increasing attention for his heroic struggle against to speak out against all wrongs, not just those committed against Ireland. These films and photographs are in part a testament to this struggle.

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Upon the British Empire,
Upon the Church of Christ.
The ghost of Roger Casement

Is beating on the door. (William Butler Yeats, 1936)

In April of 1915, Albert K. Dawson of the firm of Brown and Dawson produced a remarkable series of photographs and moving pictures of Roger Casement in Berlin. They were to be among the most widely distributed of all Dawson's pictures taken during World War I. The motion picture film by Dawson is particularly interesting because it is the only known extant footage of Roger Casement. Now that it is the centennial of Casement's execution in the cause of his struggle for Irish independence and the subsequent Easter Rising in 1916, it is time to look at these pictures again.



Figure 1. Roger Casement, Hotel Eden, Berlin, April 1915.

Source: Photo by Albert K. Dawson. From the *New York World and Telegram* Collection. Courtesy Library of Congress.

The story of the provenance of these historical photographs and films is based on a triangle of three people. The first of these is Roger Casement himself (Figure 1).

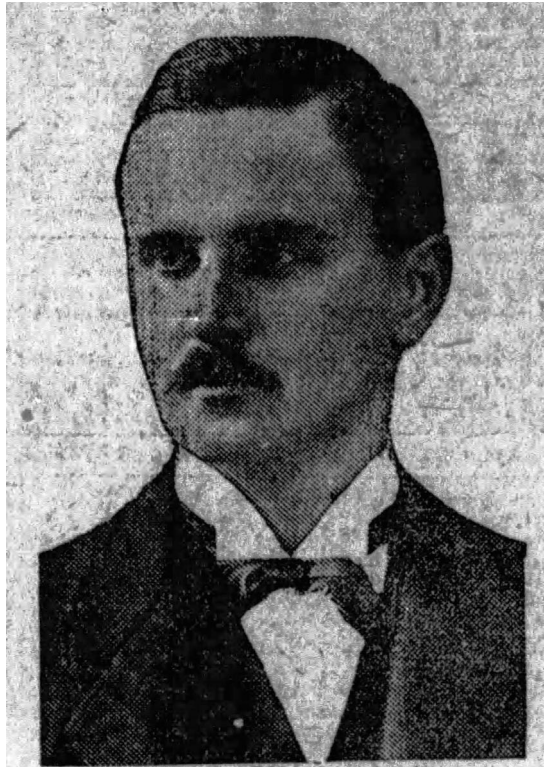
The Irish nationalist: Sir Roger Casement

In April 1915, Roger Casement was in Berlin, working for the cause of Ireland against the British. Born in Dublin on 1 September 1864, he was, among other things, an Irish diplomat, activist, nationalist and poet, hero, humanitarian, homosexual and advocate for Ireland's independence from Britain. Described as the 'father of twentieth century human rights investigations,' he was knighted for his important investigations of human rights abuses in Peru and awarded honors for his report on Belgian atrocities in the Congo. In the course of his investigations, he became an ardent anti-colonialist, which naturally enough impelled him to think about the relation of his country, Ireland, and the British who ruled it. This led to his efforts to achieve Irish independence. Even before the World War, he had considered Germany to be a great hope in defeating Great Britain and thus perhaps gaining independence for Ireland. In 1912, he wrote an article analogizing Great Britain and Germany to Carthage, a great empire that worshipped only mammon, and Rome, true to its civic virtue and its Gods, and predicted that Rome (Germany) would again triumph.¹ During the Great War, Casement crossed a great line and decided to work with the Germans in the hopes of getting German collaboration for an armed uprising in Ireland to gain Irish independence.

One essential fact to remember about the struggle for Irish independence was that the center of planning was often not in Ireland or Germany, but in the United States, the home of many Irish who had no reason to love Britain, and who were now prosperous enough to provide funds to the cause. In late 1914, Casement was in the United States drumming up support for Ireland. It was while he was in the United States that the Clan na Gael and the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB) conceived the idea for Casement to travel to Germany to enlist German support for the Irish cause. Traveling under the false name James S. Landy, he sailed for Europe on the *Oscar II* on 15 October 1914, and arrived at Christiania (Oslo) on the 31st.² Casement visited German Under-Secretary of State Arthur Zimmermann. Together they conceived a plan to land 25,000 soldiers to be called the Irish Brigade with 75,000 rifles on the west coast of Ireland. Although the German Foreign Office was interested in the scheme, the German General Staff balked. By 14 November 1914, Secretary of State Gottlieb von Jagow wrote to Zimmermann that while the enterprise might be useful for propaganda purposes,

... the reservations against actually carrying out the idea are evident. The military results would be small, possibly even negative, and it would be said that we violated international law. However, it would suffice to have it known that the Irish prisoners were quite ready to fight England on our side.³

Casement was literally a character in a tragedy. He quickly realized that he was nothing but an unimportant pawn to the Germans and had been deluding himself all the while about the true interests of the Germans, especially the General Staff. Now refuted by this time by many of the Irish leaders in America and Ireland as well the Irish in Germany, he was as much a prisoner in Germany as



(Photo by Notman.)
FRANZ HUGO KREBS.

Figure 2. Franz Hugo Krebs, portrait reproduced from the *Boston Post*, 27 May 1901.

a guest. Casement had obtained what he called a treaty between the German Government and the Irish League, by which the Germans agreed to aid in their uprising and to form the Irish Brigade. Although signed in December 1914, it was not worth the paper it was written on, and was denounced even by the Irish activists in America and Ireland. This was partly because the treaty contained a provision stating that if the Irish uprising did not take place in Ireland, the Irish POWs could be used in other fronts fighting for the Germans, which meant that the Irish probably would be fighting in Egypt against the British. The Irish nationalists would not accept this. In addition, the Irish POWs showed scant interest in fighting for the Germans in any case, as many of them were still loyal to the Crown, and had been badly treated in the German prison camps. Casement had written countless letters and pamphlets, promoting the idea of forming an Irish Brigade among the Irish POWs in Germany. During this time, he took several cures for nervous exhaustion in Munich and elsewhere. By pursuing negotiations with the Germans, he had put himself in a nerve wrecking situation where he had to rely on their word, which as their actions in Belgium demonstrated, meant little or nothing. His only recourse was to play out the hopeless hand he had been dealt – or rather the hand that he had dealt himself (Figure 2).

The journalist: Franz Hugo Krebs

The second figure in the triangle was the lawyer, politician and journalist, Franz Hugo Krebs.

In the United States, one particular center of Irish anti-British sentiment was Boston, Krebs' home and headquarters of his political dealings. He is primarily remembered for his journalistic activities during World War I, but he was far more than a reporter.

Franz Hugo Krebs, Jr. was born in Boston on 13 August 1868. His father, Franz Hugo Krebs was born in Germany and was a celebrated homeopathic physician with a large and successful practice in Boston. Krebs Junior went to Harvard, graduated from Harvard Law School in 1892, and then volunteered and served in the Spanish American War. He fought at the battles of El Caney and Santiago and was cited for bravery. On returning to Boston he married Julia de Parras Watts in 1904, and became a lawyer and partner in the firm of Johnson & Krebs.

He appears to have been one of the many lawyers more interested in politics than law. As a Republican he had served two terms in the Massachusetts state legislature, and when Krebs returned from the Spanish American War, he was nominated for United States Congress from the Ninth District, the strongest Democratic district in New England, and although polling the largest vote ever given to a Republican candidate he lost by a narrow margin.⁴ He then turned to the profession of journalism and when the World War broke out, reported to the celebrated McClure Newspaper Syndicate. The great days of the Syndicate and *McClure's Magazine*, renowned for publishing the articles of muckraking writers Ida Tarbell, Lincoln Steffens and Ray Stannard Baker, were past, but the Syndicate still had a very high reputation in 1914 and the Germans were impressed by Krebs' affiliation. The McClure Syndicate generally paid journalists \$125.00 for an article and would then charge any newspaper \$5.00 for using it.

Krebs' reasons for becoming pro-German are not clear. His ancestry was German, and his father had been born there. He lived in Boston, a center of Irish nationalism in America, and had been involved in politics in the Ninth Ward. Pro-Irish sentiments were almost a necessity to practice politics in Boston and possibly Krebs had not given up hope for higher office.

After the outbreak of World War I, Krebs went far beyond simple pro-German journalism, and became an enthusiastic polemicist for Germany. In September of 1914, Krebs wired Rudyard Kipling and offered to discuss his poems, in particular the two poems 'The Truce of the Bear' and 'The Grave of the Hundred Dead.' The message of 'The Truce of the Bear,' written 16 years earlier, is that one cannot trust Russia, which of course had become Britain's ally during World War I. The message of the latter poem is that it was justified to kill 100 enemies in cold blood to avenge the death of one British subaltern, shot by a sniper. Krebs' point was presumably to note that Kipling's poem on British reprisals against irregulars justified German behavior in Belgium. Kipling politely wired back that he was too involved with other matters, such as relief for Louvain, destroyed and vandalized by the Germans, to take up the invitation.⁵

Krebs decided to travel to Germany to report on the war, first wanting to interview Theobald von Bethmann-Hollweg, the Chancellor of Germany, on the

possibility of reopening the cable between Germany and the United States. At the time of Krebs' departure, the German Ambassador to the United States Johann Heinrich Graf von Bernstorff, sent a telegram to the Auswärtiges Amt (German Foreign Office):

Cipher from Washington:

No. 106. From 17 January [1915]

Franz Hugo Krebs, representative of the very important McClure Newspaper Syndicate left on January 16 for Rotterdam on the *New Amsterdam* where he has asked permission to interview the Reich Chancellor [Bethmann-Hollweg]. I gave him a letter addressed to Dr. [Otto] Hammann. On his arrival, please inform the Consulate in Rotterdam to let Krebs know whether he should travel to Berlin or elsewhere.

Bernstorff⁶

Krebs set sail for Rotterdam on the *Nieuw Amsterdam* on 16 January 1915. With Krebs was Oswald Schuette, highly pro-German representative of the *Chicago Daily News*, to whom Count von Bernstorff had also given letters addressed to Admiral Georg von Müller and Otto Hammann, Press Secretary for the Auswärtiges Amt (AA). Upon his arrival in Germany, Krebs lodged an official complaint against the British government for demanding his passport at sea, and presented it to Mayor Curley of Boston, who in turned passed it on to Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan.⁷

On Sunday, 22 August 1915, Krebs' interview with Bethmann-Hollweg appeared in the *New York Times*. Krebs said that he got the interview a few weeks after he arrived in Germany, which would have put the actual date of the interview around mid-March or April 1915.⁸ Krebs also interviewed Karl Helfferich, the Treasurer of Germany, probably in the spring of 1915, although that interview was not published until 15 July 1915.⁹

In January 1916, Conrad Roediger, an astute secretary in the AA, who managed to survive in office through the Wilhelmine and Weimar regimes, the Third Reich and the BRD after World War II, wrote Wilhelm von Radowitz, a high ranking advisor to Wilhelm von Stumm, chief of the AA political department and involved in intelligence matters, that Krebs had given confidential information to the Auswärtiges Amt involving fellow Americans in Germany. This again suggests that Krebs was doing more in Germany than simply journalism, but the information was not terribly serious or damaging.¹⁰

Later, after America entered the war, the Justice Department asked the American Protective League to investigate Krebs. The Protective League, an auxiliary to the Department of Justice's Bureau of investigation, independently investigated cases of alleged pro-German activities, as the Department of Justice itself was extremely short-handed. It at times came perilously close to vigilantism, and President Wilson did not like the League. In any case, the Department of Justice turned over to the League for investigation a memorandum which states in part:

... the above named [first given as Mr. Walter Krebs, name subsequently corrected to Franz Hugo Krebs] knows more of what Germany is doing in this

country and conditions in Germany than any man here; was a close personal friend of Sir Roger Casement and was with him in Germany, and conducting the negotiations leading up to Casement's Irish rebellion. Also that Krebs was largely responsible for the recall of Dr. Dernburg through his influence with Hollweg, on account of the blunders made by Dernburg here. Krebs is also a close friend of St. John Gaffney, recalled consul of Munich, Germany.¹¹

Bernhard Jakob Ludwig Dernburg had been former Secretary of State in the German Colonial Office. He was nominally in America as representative of the German Red Cross, but in fact was the head of propaganda in the United States, establishing an entity known as the Dernburg Committee. After the Germans sank the *Lusitania* in May 1915, Dernburg made a speech in Cleveland which attempted to justify the Germans' sinking of the liner. He had already made speeches asserting to America that Antwerp was a German harbor, that Belgium belonged to Germany geographically and that Germany needed areas like Morocco for settlement after the war. The adverse reaction to the Cleveland speech was so sharp that the Germans recalled Dernburg.¹² As Dernburg had been instrumental in getting Casement to the United States and was also largely responsible for setting up Dawson's American Correspondent Film Company, there may have been some ill feeling from Casement and Dawson directed at Krebs if he did in fact persuade Bethmann-Hollweg to jettison Dernburg. But evidently there was not. This may be because Krebs was wildly exaggerating his influence on Bethmann-Hollweg or because Casement and Dawson agreed with Krebs that Dernburg was not the best man for the job.

On 4 April 1917, Charles F. Cassens, a concerned US citizen, wrote a letter to the Secret Service claiming that Krebs was the representative of Bethmann-Hollweg, the Reich Chancellor of Germany, in the United States. Cassens was a letter carrier, and hardly in a position to be privy to Krebs's life, but there are few secrets from postmen. In addition, Cassens' father was born in Germany, and German was his mother tongue, so Cassens could have learned much from



Figure 3. Albert Dawson holding a 3A Autographic Kodak camera, reproduced from *Kodakery Magazine*, February 1917.

conversations with Krebs, or from his mail. In any case, the Secret Service started an investigation.

As seems typical of the Secret Service investigations at this time, the rumors are many and the facts are few. There was certainly no doubt of Krebs being pro-German, but there seems to have been no evidence of his being involved in treason or espionage. In the National Library of Ireland, there is a note probably by Joseph McGarrity: 'Krebs was a newspaper correspondent in Germany and perhaps a spy. I have no evidence of this. He seemed to really admire Sir R.'¹³ Casement's diary entries and correspondence show no real evidence of espionage. Krebs was useful for carrying messages back and forth between parties, or a good man with whom to have dinner. For instance, Casement entrusted Krebs with a copy of his important letter to von Wedel of 30 December 1914. But Krebs does not seem to have been party to any really sensitive policy discussions or decisions. Krebs seemed to want to take part in Casement's long-term strategy. Three times in January and February 1916, Krebs tried to contact Casement about a project he had in mind. Casement, who was taking a cure for exhaustion, seemed to have avoided him (Figure 3).¹⁴

The camera correspondent: Albert K. Dawson

The third figure in the triangle was the photographer and cinematographer Albert K. Dawson, the man who took the films and pictures.

Dawson, the photographer and partner of Brown & Dawson Studios, was born in Vincennes, Indiana on 20 September 1885.¹⁵ A very talented young man, he was drawn to photography early. He published a book of his photographs of old Vincennes as early as 1905. His firm, Brown & Dawson, located in Stamford, Connecticut, started in 1912 as a regular photographic firm working for the media, advertising and travel agencies, real estate companies and the like. But during the First World War the company took on a completely new line of work when it began to produce both motion picture films and regular news pictures about the war in Europe. The still pictures were mostly sold through Underwood and Underwood and were circulated widely in the American press in 1915–1916. The films were either directed by Dawson with the assistance of a hired 'Cino-operator,' or shot by Dawson himself.

He had become involved with the Germans when he accepted a job with the Hamburg-America Line and its publicity director in the United States, Matthew B. Claussen. When the war broke out, Claussen accepted the job of setting up the press office for Dernburg's propaganda committee, mentioned above. Already familiar with Dawson's work, he then offered Dawson a job to produce pro-German film and photographic publicity for Dernburg's committee. Dawson accepted.

Dawson arrived in Germany on 7 December 1914. But by April of 1915, Dawson and the firm of Brown and Dawson were also working for the American Correspondent Film Company of New York. This organization was secretly financed by the German government to produce pro-German films about the war in Europe. In 1915, Dawson had already taken one tour of the Western front and

occupied Belgium. By 24 February 1915, he was indeed, as Krebs describes below, back in Berlin taking shots of the home front.¹⁶

According to Krebs's comments below, Dawson needed some coaxing to photograph Casement. This seems really strange considering that Dawson's other subjects at this time in 1915 include American Ambassador James W. Gerard, Karl Helfferich, Chancellor Bethmann-Hollweg and Secretary of State Gottlieb von Jagow, not ugly men but not particularly photogenic ones either. Perhaps Dawson felt that Casement, neither politically prominent nor German, would not fit easily into his supposedly neutral films. In any case, with Krebs' encouragement, he made the series of photographs and also persuaded Casement to pose for motion pictures.

After Casement's execution on 3 August 1916, Krebs wrote a eulogy to him in the *Boston Post* and also described the photo and film session with Dawson:

The news of the execution of Sir Roger Casement not only shocked me, as it did most Americans, on account of the taking of the life of one of the world's most remarkable men, but also as the killing in accordance with judicial decree of one whom I had come to regard as a personal friend and for whom I had the highest admiration and respect.

I first met Sir Roger in April 1915. I had wanted to meet him for some time, but he had been away from Berlin and finally, on his return, I was phoned to call at the German foreign office and was introduced to Sir Roger. He invited me to call and see him at the Hotel Eden and promised me an interview.

I not only obtained the interview, but also received permission from Sir Roger for Albert K. Dawson, of Brown and Dawson of Stamford, Connecticut to take pictures and also a 'movie' of him.

Sir Roger not only had an absolute disregard for money, but he was extraordinarily sensitive, lest anyone should have even the least excuse for thinking that he would be willing to make money out of his patriotic activities. Dawson had been loafing around Berlin for weeks without getting any results; finally I got him a chance to take a 'movie' of Dr. Karl Haffenreich [Helfferich], the imperial treasurer, and several other prominent people. Next I suggested Sir Roger, but Dawson couldn't see it. But when I gave him my view that Sir Roger was the most romantic figure in this waged-for-business war, he decided that it would be worthwhile to take the pictures.

Next Sir Roger was the stumbling block. He made no objection to the pictures, but did object, most decidedly, to the 'movie.' But finally he said to me, 'Well, Mr. Krebs, if you think it will make one more friend for Ireland, go ahead.' And as a result of that permission, some 20 to 22 million Americans have seen Sir Roger as lifelike in appearance as he was when I saw him in the Hotel Eden in Berlin.¹⁷

Albert Dawson filmed Casement at this early stage of the war when they met in Berlin, probably on 17 April 1915, relying on the handwritten date on one of Dawson's photographs. This footage was later edited into the films found by the authors as source references in the cans of the film archives of the Library of Congress in Culpeper, Virginia. These films were probably part of the feature film *The*

Fighting Germans, a revamp of Dawson's previous film *The Warring Millions*, which was released by the Mutual Film Corporation in May 1916, shortly after the Easter Rising in Ireland. The Irish rebellion was hot news at that time in the United States, so probably the Mutual Film Corporation thought it would be a good idea to show some pictures of Casement.

The Dawson pictures are remarkable. When they were taken in April 1915, Casement was sick and exhausted. Casement had evolved into a gothic and emaciated tragic figure. Dawson's photographs and the moving picture film bear poignant witness to this, reminding one of the statues of the saints on the north porch of Chartres Cathedral. Casement's pictures were taken at a crucial stage during his stay in Germany. On 10 April 1915, just one week before he posed in front of Dawson's camera, Casement met three Irish POWs at the Hotel Eden, who had been released from Limburg camp to recruit soldiers for the Irish Brigade. According to one of the men, Casement was in a terrible state: 'Sir Roger remarked that the [German] foreign office officials were awful fools, and would break his heart soon. We could see that he was being driven into a state bordering on serious mental trouble. He could not bring the Germans round to his view and make them realize the importance of certain work.'¹⁸

Only a handful of soldiers had volunteered for the Irish Brigade and Casement was feeling depressed. Then, on 16 April, Joseph Plunkett arrived from Switzerland. A close friend of Casement's, he had joined the IRB and was sent to Germany to boost morale, increase recruitment for the Irish Brigade and organize a German arms shipment to coincide with a rising against Britain. The results of the recruitment campaign remained limited but Plunkett did succeed in shipping arms to Ireland. Together with Casement and the three Irish recruiters, Plunkett also visited a factory that day where they inspected the special uniform for the Irish



Figure 4. Advertisement for *Hearst International Film Pictorial*, *New York American*, 4 August 1916, 5, the day after Casement was executed.

Note: This film was supposed to be released in No. 53, 4 July 1916, but the release was probably postponed until the date of his execution.

Brigade that was personally designed by Casement. For a brief moment, Casement's spirits on the prospects of the Irish cause may have lifted. The next day, when he woke up at the Hotel Eden, Krebs and Dawson visited him for the interview and to have his pictures taken (Figure 4).

Krebs' estimate that 20 million people saw the footage of Casement is probably based on William Randolph Hearst's showing of it in his newsreels.¹⁹ *Moving Picture World* announced on 22 July 1916 that the *Hearst International News Pictorial* No. 53, to be released on 4 July 1916, would feature 'Sir Roger Casement, Irish leader, [who] is sentenced to die for high treason in connection with the recent Irish uprising in Dublin, photographed on the occasion of an interview with Franz Krebs.'²⁰

Krebs returned to Germany on 21 January 1916. He went to Berlin where he stayed until 27 April 1916.²¹ On Saint Patrick's Day, 17 March 1916, Krebs spent a part of the day with Casement. Casement was ill at the time, and Krebs was writing up his interview with ardent Irish nationalist T. St. John Gaffney, the American consul in Munich, and Robert Monteith said they were going to Casement at the Hotel Saxonia:

When I reached the hotel we went up to Sir Roger's room. The doctor had just left him, but when Gaffney told him how hard it had been for him to find any Irish whiskey in Berlin, and that it was just one drink and then we would go, Sir Roger assented. Gaffney offered as a toast 'God Save Ireland' but Sir Roger said no, it must be 'God Save the Irish republic, soon to be born.' And so it was.²²

During this second trip to Germany, he was active on behalf of Casement. On 4 April 1916, Casement wrote: 'I told Crotty of my idea of using Krebs perhaps to go over and try to stop the [Rising]. I later took Krebs into our confidence – but he was not able (and rightly I think) to carry out the half thought I had had. But he remains a witness.'²³

And on 5 April: 'We (Lt. Monteith and Fr. Crotty and I) came back to Berlin at 5:30 and I met Krebs there. He has a copy of my letter to Wedel of 30 March and a few other things – for use after the war only – and only then if I am dead.'²⁴

In April 1916, Casement returned to Ireland on the U-boat *U-19* and was captured. He was so ill that he was lying in an ancient ring fort near Tralee when he was taken, a far cry from a heroic death on the barricades. A German ship, the *Libau*, renamed the *Aud*, flying Norwegian colors, shipped 20,000 rifles to the south Irish coast, but it failed to link up with the rebels and was scuttled. Following Casement's trial, he was executed on 3 August 1916. Planning on this support, a minority of the Irish Volunteers launched the Easter Rising in Dublin. Though the Rising failed, it would lead on to the Anglo-Irish war in 1919–1922 and the formation of the Irish Free State.

In the spring of 1916, before Krebs left Germany for the second time, Krebs also got interviews with Gottlieb von Jagow and a second interview with Helfferich.²⁵ Upon his return to the United States, Krebs again demonstrated that his participation in the Casement affair went far beyond journalism. Shortly after Casement was executed, on 18 August 1916, Krebs addressed a protest against the

execution of Casement at Faneuil Hall in Boston. Also speaking were Former Congressman Joseph O'Connor, Mayor Curley, Joseph Smith and Thomas H. Kelley of the Irish Relief Fund who had recently been deported from England, as well as Nora Connolly, daughter of the Irish patriot James Connolly, who had been propped up and then shot by the British after the Easter uprising. On 15 October 1916, in the *Boston Post*, Krebs published an article on the German submarine issue, in which Krebs interviewed an anonymous official of the Foreign Office. It included an ingenuous argument supporting the Germans' use of submarines and a nervous disclaimer from the editor of the *Boston Post*, which also ran the Krebs article right next to an extremely pro-Allied article by William C. Bullitt.²⁶

After that, Krebs' pro-German speeches and articles slowed down and then stopped. One reason may be a report from George N. Moran, of the American Protective League to the Secret Service in which he made the following recommendation:

I suggest that Krebs be officially sent for and officially told that he must cease all utterances or activities that could possibly be construed as even savoring of disloyalty under suspension of drastic action. He might be told that his history, statements, claimed connections and apparent pro-German sympathies are known and will continue to be known at all times, I suggest that he be not permitted to explain or argue (that being his forte), but merely informed of what is desired for reasons officially sufficient and then be permitted to contemplate the inferred alternative.

As far as I have gone, it seems to me that he is an egomaniac and 'blow hard' whose talk is dangerous as talk but who stops there, and that he can be effectively muffled through fear.²⁷

Perhaps Krebs had already gotten a warning, because he stopped publishing articles. In any case, he seems to have given up journalism, and then became involved in shipping transactions, possibly with an eye to improved transatlantic trade after the war.

The hardening of American attitudes toward Germany in 1916, and the resulting lack of enthusiasm among the Germans in distributing additional films in the United States, worked against Albert K. Dawson as well. The American Correspondent Film Company was disbanded and by May 1916, Dawson was back in America. After the United States entered the war in April 1917, he received a commission in the Signal Corps as a cinematographer, but when his deep ties to the Germans were uncovered he was court-martialed on a trumped up charge and left the Army. Later in life, he did little with film, and his family was unaware that he had been a cinematographer overseas in World War I.

In the long run, Casement triumphed. The Anglo-Irish Troubles seem at present to be over. After another outburst of violence in the 1970s, the acceptance of the European Union by both Ulster and the Irish Free State seems to have taken the steam out of the issue. But there was, and continues to be, an increasing amount of interest in Casement, a fearless spokesman against oppression of any kind, and a man who went on fighting against hopeless odds. Like John Brown, another unsuccessful revolutionary to whom he was often compared, his trial



Figure 5. Roger Casement, from a photo by Albert Dawson, reproduced from the *New York Times*, 13 August 1916.

probably did the Irish cause more good than an actual successful uprising would have. Dawson's poignant films and photographs, now on the internet and on YouTube, did much to bring this about (Figure 5).

Acknowledgements

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Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

Notes

1. Roger Casement, *The Crime against Europe* (Philadelphia: Celtic Press, 1915), 8. Considering the actions of General Lothar von Trotha in the Herero and Namaque genocides in 1904–1907, a remarkable claim for Sir Roger to make.
2. Francis M. Carroll, 'America and the 1916 Rising', 1916: *The Long Revolution*, eds. Gabriel Doherty, Dermot Keogh (Douglas Village, Cork: Mercier Press, 2007), 132; Reinhard R. Doerries, *Prelude to the Easter Rising: Sir Roger Casement in Imperial Germany* (London: Frank Cass Publishers, 2000), 7.
3. Gottlieb Von Jagow to Arthur Zimmermann, November 7, 1914, Doerries, 58.
4. *New York Globe and Commercial Advertiser*, June 15, 1904, 5.
5. The controversy about the 'Truce of the Bear' apparently stemmed from its reprinting in *The Fatherland* on 31 August 1914, 16 years after Kipling had written the poem. George M. Hau, *War Echoes or Germany and Austria in the Crisis* (New York: Morton M. Malone, 1915), 177.

6. Krebs got his article with the Imperial Reich Chancellor Bethmann-Hollweg, which appeared in the *New York Times*, August 22, 1915, 4.
7. 'Harvard Square Notes', *Cambridge Tribune* XXXVII, no. 51, 20 February 1915.
8. The *Nieuw Amsterdam* sailed on 16 January 1915. According to James W. Castellan, Schuette also sent a radiogram to Rep. James Robert Mann from the ship on 17 January 1915 – it got mentioned in a *Washington Post* article 19 January 1915, 8 – about the British interdiction 'in sight of the statue of Liberty' and being searched for contraband and papers. In addition, Castellan has a copy of a letter from William Howard Taft given directly to Schuette dated 15 January 1915 now framed and hanging on Schuette's grandson's wall. Schuette obtained it in NYC just before he left for Germany. He learned Taft was in NYC and approached him at the Astoria Hotel, asked for a letter of introduction as he was leaving for Germany the next day, and Taft personally typed it out on the typewriter and stationery he traveled with. Mr Castellan documented that Taft was in New York City. Schuette had a very good personal relationship with Taft from his years as a Washington political correspondent. Schuette wrote his first *Chicago Daily News* byline from Rotterdam on 28 January 1915. The only boat sailing for Rotterdam on 16 January 1915 from New York was the *Nieuw Amsterdam*. See also: www.castellan.us/SCHUETTE/SchuetteOswaldFsrTimeLine.htm.
9. Franz Hugo Krebs, 'Talk with Germany's Treasurer', *New York Times Magazine*, July 11, 1915, SM5.
10. Conrad Roediger to Wilhelm von Radowitz, Auswärtiges Amt, Politisches Archiv, Berlin, 7 January 1916, cited in James W. Castellan, Ron van Dopperen, and Cooper C. Graham, *American Cinematographers in the Great War, 1914–1918* (New Barnet: John Libbey Publishing, Ltd., 2014), 103.
11. American Protective League, In Re Franz Hugo Krebs 11 March 1918, Bureau of Investigation, File 8843, NARA, College Park, Maryland. *American Cinematographers in the Great War*, 48–51, 144.
12. 'Sinking Justified Says Dr Dernburg', *New York Times*, May 9, 1915; 'Dernburg to Quit America', *Boston Globe* May 16, 1915, 14.
13. Jeffrey Dudgeon 'A Last Page', 36, fn 49 (Addition to Dudgeon, *Roger Casement: the Black Diaries* (Belfast: Belfast Press, 2002). Joseph McGarrity was a leading member of the Clan na Gael.
14. Doerries, 180, 186, 190; Jeffrey Dudgeon 'A Last Page', 36, 37, 43, 48, 51, 55, 58, 61; Letter to Doctor Curry, 9 April 1916, 'I want you to send the photograph of the Treaty I left with the papers I gave you to Munich lately to Franz Hugo Krebs at the Hotel Bristol, Berlin but not by post. It should go by hand – a friend – and no one should know what is in it. I have told Mr Krebs it will come to him.' New York Public Library, Maloney collection of Irish Historical Papers (IHP) 1857–1965 MSS Col 1854; Series I Sir Roger Casement. <http://www.nypl.org/sites/default/files/archivalcollections/pdf/maloneyihp.pdf>.
15. For more information on Albert K. Dawson, see Ron van Dopperen and Cooper C. Graham, *Shooting the Great War: Albert Dawson and the American Correspondent Film Company, 1914–1918*. 5th ed (Charleston: CreateSpace, 2015).
16. Ron van Dopperen and Cooper C. Graham, 'Film Flashes of the European Front', *Film History* 23, no. 1 (2011): 25; *Shooting the Great War*, 60.
17. Franz Hugo Krebs, 'Casement a Sir Galahad', *Boston Post*, August 4, 1916, 1. In the English intertitle of Helfferich that appeared in Dawson's film *Battles of A*

- Nation*, '[Helfferich] tells Dawson and Francis H. [Franz Hugo] Krebs that world war coasts [sic] 3 million dollars an hour,' so it was possible that Krebs was in the original shot. *Shooting the Great War*, 188.
18. 'The German Irish Brigade', *South Bend News Times*, January 25, 1920, 1. The author was probably Corporal Timothy Quinlisk who had joined the Royal Irish Regiment and was the first to volunteer for the Irish Brigade. He was killed by the Irish Republican Army in 1920 when it was found out he was working as a secret agent for the British. The chronology of Casement's whereabouts in Berlin in April 1915 is based on his report.
 19. Louis Pizzitola, *Hearst over Hollywood: Power, Passion and Propaganda in the Movies* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012), 137.
 20. *Moving Picture World*, July 22, 1916, 691.
 21. M.T. Valkenburg IN RE: Franz Hugo Krebs, 23 July 1918, Bureau of Investigation File 8843, NARA.
 22. Franz Hugo Krebs, 'Casement Was Sane if John Brown was', Says American Friend in Berlin, *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, August 6, 1916, 7B.
 23. Geoffrey Dudgeon, 'A Last Page', 36.
 24. *Ibid.*, 37. Robert Monteith came from the Clan Na Gael in Ireland, and became Casement's military representative. Father John Thomas Crotty was a Dominican Priest sent to help Casement with the Irish POWs in Germany and became a friend. Count Georg von Wedel was a close friend of Bethmann-Hollweg, and became a friend of Casement.
 25. Franz Hugo Krebs, 'Helfferich Sees Trade Prosperity for Us', *New York Times Magazine*, May 21, 1916, 61; Franz Hugo Krebs, 'Von Jagow Asks Fair Play from Americans', *New York Times Magazine*, May 28, 1916, 4.
 26. Franz Hugo Krebs, 'Big Submersible Cruisers Newest German War Plan', *Boston Post*, October 15, 1916, 45.
 27. Valkenburg, op. cit. citing report by George N. Moran of the American Protective League.

Appendix: Notes on the Casement Film

Casement footage on YouTube posted by 'Grainne Mhaol,' subscriber no. 75, taken from Episode 8 'Revolution', of *The First World War* on Channel Four in Britain (2003).

Collection: stock footage J.E. Allen Collection

[TAPES IWO5/IW06/IW07/IW14/IW16/IW18/IW20/IW21/ IW22]

Film record at the Library of Congress:

Summary: Industry, 'Scenes of Big Iron Works In Belgium'; war correspondent Dawson, 'War News Printed Near The Firing Line', printing of German newspaper; Dawson at US Embassy in Berlin, Ambassador James W. Gerard, Consul J.P. Lay, Dr Karl Helfferich (German treasurer); Dawson in Brussels 'HILFSVEREIN DEUTSCHEN FRAUEN [4210]'; 'Dawson Meets Another American Correspondent In Brussels', 'The German people still love their flowers', Dawson in food market, probably Berlin; gifts for soldiers being wrapped for distribution, a scene used in *Battles of a Nation*; scenes in German harbor, probably Lübeck; 'Sir Roger Casement', the famous Irish nationalist filmed in Berlin sitting at his desk, signing papers. John E. Allen Collection, Library of Congress, Motion Picture Broadcasting and Recorded Sound Division, MAVIS No, 1831450.

The note on the splice of the Dawson film in the Allen Collection ('August 2, 1963') on the footage registered in MAVIS (no. 1831450, Allen Collection) may have something to do with the preparations for this great WW1 BBC series. But if the BBC ordered this scene showing Casement, they never used it.

The BBC *Great War* series (1964) has no scene showing Roger Casement. Although one of the episodes deals with the Irish Rebellion and has shots showing the trial of Casement (filmed from the public streets) there is no close up of him. Channel 4 however did. In 2003, the scene appeared in Episode 8 'Revolution' of the documentary series on the First World War. The reference on YouTube is correct. Casement appears in this episode between 35:10–35:45 min.

Notes on contributors

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Ron van Dopperen studied history at the University of Utrecht, Holland where he wrote his Master of Arts Thesis on the American World War documentary films (1988). He now works as a communication advisor for the Dutch government. He has also collaborated with his present co-author on the book *Shooting the Great War: Albert Dawson and the American Correspondent Film Company 1914–1918*, and with Cooper Graham and James W. Castellan on *American Cinematographers in the Great War, 1914–1918*.
